

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 08736 01 OF 03 241753Z  
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 08736

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), FR  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PARIS APRIL 1-2:  
BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

SUMMARY: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISIT DEMONSTRATED THE HIGH PRIORITY WE ASSIGN TO RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN. YOUR VISIT WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEEPEN FRENCH UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY NOW THAT INNOVATIVE ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN ENUNCIATED. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES A CHECKLIST OF FRENCH INTERESTS AND CONCERNS, AS WELL AS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR YOUR OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE IN PARIS WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT BACKDROP TO YOUR VISIT APRIL 1-2 MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. A CONTINUING STRONG LEVEL OF INTEREST, BOTH PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL, IN THE UNFOLDING PERSONALITY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON, AND AN EAGERNESS TO ESTABLISH PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 08736 01 OF 03 241753Z

THE NEW US LEADERSHIP.

B. A FEELING OF FRUSTRATION ON THE PART OF THE TOP LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT THAT THEY ARE STILL UNABLE TO DISCERN AN INNER PHILOSOPHIC GYROSCOPE THAT GUIDES US FOREIGN POLICY.

C. A PRE-OCCUPATION WITH THE DRIFT OF INTERNAL POLITICS COMBINED WITH A GROWING FEELING OF REGISTRATION THAT THE LEFT IS COMING TO POWER IN A SLOW GALLOP.

D. YOUR VISIT WILL OCCUR ON THE EVE OF THE OPENING OF SPRING PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, BY WHICH TIME ALL THE ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNING COALITION WILL HAVE RECEIVED STRONG HALF-TIME LOCKER ROOM LECTURES BY COACHES GISCARD, BARRE AND CHIRAC TO THE EFFECT THAT ALL IS NOT LOST. A FULL YEAR IS LEFT IN WHICH TO TURN THE TIDE. THIS MEANS THAT MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS WILL HAVE TO MESH WITH DOMESTIC REQUIREMENTS.

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, GISCARD AND DE GUIRINGAUD WILL BE INTERESTED IN DRAWING YOU OUT ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

A. YOUR VISIT TO MOSCOW AND HOW DETENTE IS FARING, ESPECIALLY IN THE ARMS CONTROL AREA, AS A RESULT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. THE FRENCH WILL NATURALLY BE KEENLY INTERESTED IN SALT, AND WHETHER YOU FORESEE PROGRESS THIS YEAR, AND WHETHER AN EMERGING AGREEMENT IS LIKELY TO CONTAIN WEAPONS SYSTEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM THROUGH NON-CIRCUMVENTION OR NON-TRANSFER CLAUSES (E.G. CRUISE MISSILES). THE GOF HAS BEEN ACUTELY AWARE OF THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 08736 01 OF 03 241753Z

HIGH STAKES, AND ON THE BASIS OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAS BEEN APPREHENSIVE THAT WE MIGHT INADVERTENTLY CONCEDE AN ASYMETRICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE SOVIETS WHICH COULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO WESTERN EUROPE.

B. WHERE DOES THE US FEEL WE ARE HEADING WITH RESPECT TO THE WHOLE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE? THE FRENCH SEE A MAJOR ELEMENT OF US DOMESTIC POLITICS INVOLVED HERE, AND WONDER IF WASHINGTON HAS FULLY

SECRET

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SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 08736 02 OF 03 241756Z  
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 08736

EXDIS

ANALYZED THE LIKELY IMPACT ON DOMESTIC POLITICS ELSEWHERE. WILL A HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS STRENGTHEN THE HARDLINERS IN THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN THE CENTRISTS, FOR EXAMPLE, AND WILL FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION, WHICH IS SYMPATHETIC TO OUR STANCE, BE SWEEPED AWAY TO THE EXTENT OF DOING DAMAGE TO FRANCO-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN SHORT, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ON THE ROAD TO BELGRADE AND BEYOND?

C. BEYOND SALT IN THE ARMS CONTROL AREA, YOU MAY BE ASKED QUESTIONS ON CTB, MBFR, AND THE INDIAN OCEAN. ON CTB, THE FRENCH WILL ASK IF THE US IS WILLING TO MOVE ON WITH BILATERAL OR TRILATERAL TALKS WHICH WOULD LEAVE THE GOF FREE TO CONTINUE UNDERGROUND TESTING SO AS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF ITS NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. ON MBFR, THE FRENCH HAVE NOT LOWERED THE MISTRUST THEY HAVE FELT TOWARD THE VIENNA TALKS SINCE THE OUTSET. THEY FEEL MBFR IS UNVERIFIABLE AND WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS A DROIT DE REGARD OVER WESTERN FORCES. THEY WILL BE EAGER TO LEARN IF THE US CONTEMPLATES INITIATIVES WHICH MIGHT CREATE STRAINS FOR THEM WITH THE US AND THE OTHER NATO PARTNERS. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE FRENCH HAVE THE LARGEST SINGLE NAVAL FORCE THERE, AND THEY WILL ASK ABOUT THEIR ROLE IN ANY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 08736 02 OF 03 241756Z

DEMILITARIZATION EXERCISE.

D. WE STILL HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT LINGERING FRENCH CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO THE AMERICAN WILL TO COUNTER SOVIET THRUSTS WHEREVER THEY MAY OCCUR. FOR 18 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE FRENCH ANALYSIS WAS THAT THE USG

WOULD BE UNABLE TO REACT VIGOROUSLY IN PERIPHERAL AREAS UNTIL A NEW ADMINISTRATION WAS IN PLACE. NOW THAT IT IS IN PLACE, THE FRENCH FEAR THE USG MAY BE DEMONSTRATING TOO CAUTIOUS A RESPONSE TO EVENTS IN ZAIRE, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH MANY HIGH LEVEL GOF OFFICIALS SEE AS A CLEAR SOVIET TEST OF AMERICAN WILL. THE SOVIETS, THE FRENCH FEEL, WILL GIVE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO A PROGRAM OF TESTING THE US IN AREAS WHERE THE US RESPONSE IS MOST LIKELY TO BE CAUTION RATHER THAN ACTIVIST, THEREBY ESTABLISHING OVER TIME AN IMAGE OF AMERICAN SOFTNESS. THE FRENCH ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO THIS BECAUSE IT IS HAPPENING IN AFRICA WHERE THEIR OWN ASSETS ARE STILL SUBSTANTIAL, AND WHERE THEIR INTERESTS ARE MORTGAGED TO MODERATE LEADERS WHO ARE ALREADY SCARED AS A RESULT OF ANGOLA, AND WHO COULD BOLT AND RUN TOWARD THE SOVIETS IF ZAIRE COLLAPSES.

E. DE GUIRINGAUD IS ALSO LIKELY TO FOLLOW-UP ON HIS LETTER TO YOU OF MARCH 18 ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE FRENCH AGREE THAT THE ERA OF THE TRIPLE VETO MUST COME TO AN END. BUT, THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT THE TRIPLE VETO NOT BE REPLACED BY CHAPTER VII BECAUSE OF A STRONG FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN, AND A BASIC RELUCTANCE TO SET A PRECEDENT THAT COULD INHIBIT MAJOR POWERS' (AS THEY SEE THEMSELVES) ACTION IN THE FUTURE. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, TO PARAPHRASE CLEMENCEAU, ARE TOO IMPORTANT TO ENTRUST  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03     PARIS 08736 02 OF 03 241756Z

TO UN MAJORITIES.

F. DE GUIRINGAUD WILL HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ISRAEL. THIS FACTOR, COMBINED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST INDICATE THIS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT SUBJECT ON YOUR AGENDA FOR TALKS WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER.

G. IF THEY RUN TRUE TO FORM, THE FRENCH WILL FEEL COMPELLED TO REITERATE TO YOU THEIR DEEP CONCERN OVER THE MATTER OF CONCORDE LANDING RIGHTS IN NEW YORK; EITHER GISCARD OR DE GUIRINGAUD OR BOTH MAY BE EXPECTED TO ASSERT THAT A DENIAL OF THOSE RIGHTS WOULD HAVE A SERIOUSLY ADVERSE EFFECT ON FRANCO-US RELATIONS.

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PAGE 01 PARIS 08736 03 OF 03 241759Z  
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 08736

EXDIS

H. BECAUSE THEY HAVE GOTTEN WIND OF POSSIBLE STRAINS IN THE US-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP, AND IN VIEW OF THEIR VITAL INTERESTS IN THE BRAZIL NUCLEAR PROBLEM, THE FRENCH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY QUERY YOU ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BONN.

3. THE FOREGOING CHECKLIST OF FRENCH CONCERNS LIKELY TO BE RAISED WITH YOU DOES NOT REFLECT DISSATISFACTION WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. ON THE CONTRARY, THERE IS A CERTAIN EXHILARATION THAT US FOREIGN POLICY IS ON THE MOVE AGAIN, AND THAT THE EARLIER PROBLEM OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE CONFLICT APPEARS TO BE RECEDING. IN SHORT, THE FRENCH HAVE NO BASIC DISAGREEMENTS ON PRINCIPLES, AND IN KEY AREAS SUCH AS THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS ARE CONVERGING AS NEVER BEFORE. WHAT THE FRENCH ARE SEEKING NOW ABOVE ALL IS A FORMULATION THAT WILL HELP THEM DISCERN THE BASIC DIRECTION OF THE NEW FOREIGN POLICY TO THE EXTENT THAT IT DIFFERS FROM THE PREVIOUS, AND TO ESTABLISH A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH YOU APPROACHING THEIR PAST INTIMACY WITH YOUR PREDECESSOR.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 08736 03 OF 03 241759Z

4. ON THE BASIS OF THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AND THE REVIEW OF FRENCH INTERESTS, THE EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT YOUR VISIT HAVE THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES.

A. ESTABLISH THE SAME CLOSE WORKING AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH GISCARD AND DE GUIRINGAUD ENJOYED BY YOUR PREDECESSOR.

B. DEMONSTRATE THAT THE INNOVATIVE ASPECTS OF US FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION DO NOT CONFLICT WITH BASIC CONCEPTS OF WESTERN SECURITY AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH WE HOLD IN COMMON AND WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED.

C. BRIEF THE FRENCH LEADERSHIP ON OUR MEDIUM AND LONGTERM GOALS ON THE ISSUES OF ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION, TIE UP LOOSE ENDS FOR THE MAY SUMMIT.

D. REASSURE THE FRENCH LEADERSHIP THAT THE CALM, MEASURED USG REACTION TO THE ZAIRE CRISIS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A LACK OF WILL TO DEFEND WESTERN INTERESTS IN PERIPHERAL AREAS.

E. BRING THE FRENCH UP TO DATE ON OUR THINKING ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE INDIAN OCEAN, BOTH TO AVOID POTENTIALLY UNHELPFUL INITIATIVES AND TO ALLAY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

5. AS A POSTSCRIPT, I WANT TO MAKE SURE THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE OFF-AGAIN ON-AGAIN LUNCHEON ARRANGEMENTS FOR APRIL 2. THE FRENCH ARE TRYING TO ARRANGE A VISIT BY SADAT WHO IS JUGGLING SCHEDULES WITH VARIOUS OTHER GOVERNMENTS. DE GUIRINGAUD CANNOT BE ABSENT IF GISCARD HOSTS A  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 08736 03 OF 03 241759Z

LUNCH FOR SADAT, BUT THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT APPARENTLY CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND. NO OTHER SIGNIFICANCE SHOULD BE ATTACHED TO THE MIX-UP. I KNOW PERSONALLY THAT DE GUIRINGAUD IS UPSET ABOUT THE INCONVENIENCE TO YOU.

6. FINALLY, TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES RECOMMENDED IN PARAGRAPH 4 ABOVE, I WOULD HOPE THAT THE EMBASSY COULD ARRANGE TO TAKE THE SENIOR STATE OFFICIALS ACCOMPANYING YOU TO MEETINGS WITH THEIR FRENCH COUNTERPARTS DURING FREE TIME AFTER ARRIVAL ON APRIL FIRST SO AS TO REINFORCE YOUR OWN STATEMENTS

DURING THE HIGH LEVEL TALKS.  
GAMMON

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